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MR. LEIGH'S LETTER.

To the Honorable Stafford H. Parker Speaker of the Senate, and the Honorable Linn Banks, Speaker of the House of Delegates, of Virginia

SENATE CHAMBER, Washington } March 2, 1836 }

Gentlemen:—I am honored with your letter of the 24th ultimo, enclosing me a copy of the preamble and resolutions of the General Assembly, upon the subject of expunging from the journal of the Senate of the United States a resolution of that body, and requesting me to lay the same before the Senate.

I adhere to the doctrine of the right of instruction, as laid down in the resolutions of the General Assembly of February, 1812, taken in the plain and obvious sense and in the full extent in which it is there expressed; and I shall continue not only to respect, but also to maintain it, to the utmost of my ability. I deem it, indeed, an important part of the great right of state interposition, as explained and enforced in the memorable resolutions which have illustrated the session of the General Assembly of 1799–1800; and, in my opinion, this right of instruction will be found of inestimable value on all occasions that may arise, presenting questions concerning the just boundaries of power between the Federal and State Governments. If, then, the General Assembly had instructed me to give a vote, according to its sense of propriety, on any constitutional question which I could consider as at all doubtful, especially on a question on which the public mind had been long and deliberately exercised, on which men's judgments had been formed under the influence of no party or temporary excitement, but of dispassionate reason, and yet remained divided and ballanced; I should, in such a case, have followed the judgment of the General Assembly, though it had been contrary to my own. For this would not be to violate my oath of office, but only to renounce all vainglorious pretensions to infallibility, and to pay a proper and conscientious deference to the wisdom of the General Assembly. If the General Assembly had instructed me *not* to vote for a particular measure, on the ground that it held the measure unconstitutional, then, as it could hardly be unconstitutional to comply with such negative instruction, I should have had no hesitation in yielding obedience to it, however clearly the measure so disapproved might appear to my mind constitutional and wise. And as to questions of mere policy, involving no point of constitutional right, I can hardly conceive a case in which I should find difficulty in conforming my vote with instructions given me by the General Assembly. But I do not hold myself bound to obey, and I cannot obey, any instruction that commands me to do an act which, in my conscientious oppinion, would be, in itself, a plain violation of the constitution, and in its consequences dangerous and mischievous in the extreme.

While I thus declare my adherence to the doctrine of the right of instruction asserted by the General Assembly in 1812, which, sincerely believing it to be just and true, I then lent my humble aid to maintain, I beg it may be distinctly understood that if, upon more mature reflection, I thought the principle wrong, neither the pride of opinion, nor a sense of the advantages which public men usually derive from maintaining their consistency, nor a fear of the reproaches which inconsistency always incurs, (unless, indeed, it be backed with power,) would withhold me from renouncing it.

The first of the resolutions you have transmitted to me, instructs the Senators from Virginia, in the Congress of the United States, "to introduce and vote for a resolution, directing the resolution of the Senate of the 28th of March, 1834, declaring 'that the President, in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, has assumed upon himself authority and power not conferred by the constitution and laws, but in derogation of both,' to be expunged from the journal of the Senate of the United States, by causing black lines to be drawn around the said resolution, as it stands on the original manuscript journal, and these words plainly written across the face of the said resolution and entry—'Expunged by order of the Senate of the United States.'"

I have reconsidered the resolution of the Senate disapproved of by the General Assembly, in reference, as well to its intrinsic propriety, as to the constitutional competency of the Senate to adopt it; I have reflected on the question whether the resolution of the Senate, supposing it wrong, can constitutionally be expunged from the journal; I have, in doing so, earnestly endeavored to discard from my memory the circumstances belonging to the history both of the resolution condemned, and of the resolution condemnatory; indeed, I was called upon to consider the proposition to expunge the resolution of the Senate, before I thought it possible I could ever be personally concerned in the result; and, in every view I had been able to take of the subject, I find it absolutely impossible to obey the instruction now given to me. I cannot obey it, without committing an act which, to my judgment and conscience, would be a plain violation of the constitution of the United States. I cannot obey it, without descending to a degree of slavish baseness that would render me justly despicable, and expose me to the scorn even of those who have commanded the deed. I cannot obey it, without forfeiting my own self respect forever.

The constitution of the United States contains a provision (such as is to be found in few, if any, of the State constitutions,) that "each House" [of Congress] "shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy: and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question, shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal." The purpose of the provision is most obvious. It requires each House to record its transaction—to record them all, truly, exactly, and fully—to record them for the information of present and future generations; to furnish evidence to which the constituent may refer in the examination of the conduct of the representative, or the representative resort for his justification; and to hand down to our posterity, a certain knowledge of all the acts of their ancestors, which may often serve as a guide to direct them, and sometimes a beacon to warn. And unless the provision can be complied with by keeping a partial, false and garbled record of the proceedings of the two Houses—unless this duty to record the truth, can be fulfilled without recording the whole truth—or unless the injunction to *keep* the journal, can be understood as not commanding us to *preserve* it; it is impossible, I should think, to maintain, that the record of any resolution or proceeding of the Senate can be *expunged* from its journal, in the literal sense and true acceptation of that word: that is, wholly blotted out or erased. Indeed, it would be difficult *so* to expunge any part of the journal, without impairing the record of something else, which all would wish to preserve truly and fairly recorded.

The General Assembly itself, sensible (as I humbly venture to suppose) that the resolution of the Senate in question cannot be actually expunged from the journal without a violation of the constitution, proposes that it shall be expunged "by causing black lines to be drawn around the said resolution, as it stands on the original manuscript journal, and these words plainly written across the face of the said resolution and entry—'Expunged by order of the Senate.'" In other words, if I mistake not the meaning and principle of the instruction, the General Assembly, admitting that the resolution of the Senate cannot, consistently with the constitution, be expunged from the journal *literally*, yet thinks that it may be expunged *figuratively*. I pray the General Assembly to consider the danger and the mischief that must flow from a precedent of this kind—which would, in effect, elude a positive injunction of the constitution by a metaphorical use of words, and what is more, a typical doing of deeds. I doubt whether there is a single provision of the constitution, which may not be elinded, and set at nought, by a similar process; and I must add, that this typical method of expunction is more abhorrent from my feelings of constitutional duty and propriety, than the literal. Undoubtedly, the precedent admits of a broader and easier, and therefore more mischievous, application. I pray the General Assembly to consider, too, the hardship of imposing upon the consciences of men acting under the sanction of an official oath, the duty of conforming their official conduct with the rhetoric of their constituents. In the framing of laws, and in legislative proceedings of all kinds, it has always been found wise and necessary to discard all figures of speech, and to adopt the plainest language in its plainest literal acceptation. If I rightly understand the meaning and purpose of the instruction given me, the General Assembly would have me propose and vote for an expunction of the obnoxious resolution of the Senate from its journal, in such a manner, that it shall *not* be expunged after all, in whole or in part. Now, in the first place, I doubt very much whether this could be done, even in the method prescribed; and, in the next place, if, entertaining the opinions I do on the subject, I should vote for any such process of expunging, I should be guilty of mental equivocation in the discharge of my official duty. I humbly hope for the pardon of the General Assembly and of all good men, if I cannot, at its command, extinguish the knowledge I have acquired of my mother tongue; much more, if I cannot disregard the dictates of reason and conscience, which God has planted in my breast, to be the ruler and monitor of all my actions.

I find myself constrained to say, that I cannot obey the instruction for expunging the resolution of the Senate, in any manner, literally or figuratively.

This brings me to the consideration of the second resolution of the General Assembly, which declares that "the Assembly regards the right of instruction 'as resting on the broad basis of the nature of representation,' and one of the vital principles of our free institutions; and that it is the duty of the representative to obey the instructions of his constituents, or resign the trust with which they have clothed him, in order that it may be transferred to the hands of those who will carry into effect the wishes and instructions of the constituent body."

And here, in considering the alternative proposed to me, I cannot but advert to the very peculiar nature of the act which the instruction requires of me, and to some remarkable circumstances in the history of the subject.

The resolution which the General Assembly proposes to expunge is only the expression of an opinion held by the majority of the Senate for the time being, and the entry of it on the journal only the record of the fact that such was the opinion of the body. It must be obvious to the minds of all men that the expunction of the resolution from the journal of the Senate can nowise affect the main questions—whether the opinion therein declared was just or erroneous—and whether or no it was within the competency of the Senate to determine on the subject of the resolution; nor can the defacement of the record of an historical fact, in whatever manner it may be effected, annul or alter the fact itself, or, in the present case, impair, in the slightest degree, the memory of the transaction. Some hundreds of copies of the journal containing this resolution, have been printed; some deposited in the public archives; and some delivered to members of Congress for the time being, which have thus become private property, and been dispersed throughout the Union: the resolution was published, too, in all the public journals of the day: it stands recorded on the journals of all the State Legislatures that have thought proper to take the subject into their consideration: the General Assembly of Virginia has itself recorded it, in the very resolutions in which it directs the Senators of the state in Congress to vote for expunging it from the manuscript journal of the Senate. For any direct purpose, therefore, which the expunction of it can serve, viewing the act apart from the intention, nothing can be more absolutely nugatory. The resolution itself, the evidence of it, and the opinion it declares, will all be handed down to posterity by faithful history; nay, even by the very record of the proceeding to expunge it. It is vain to say, as the General Assembly has said in the preamble to its resolutions, that the resolution of the Senate is "an assumption of power not warranted by the constitution, and calculated to subvert the rights of the House of Representatives, and the fundamental principles of our free institutions:" for, if this were really the case, the General Assembly should have levelled some of its censures against the House of Representatives for neglecting its high trust—for neglecting to vindicate "the fundamental principles of our free institutions," and especially its own rights and privileges, against the encroachment of the Senate. I am not aware that the House has made any complaint; perhaps it understood the subject too well to do so. It is the Executive only that has protested against this proceeding of the Senate; and the only conceivable purpose which the proposed expunction of it can answer, will be to signalize the triumph of Executive power over a department of the Legislature that has had the firmness to oppose its measures—to set a mark of disgrace and humiliation upon the Senate, and to bind a wreath of inglorious victory around the brow of the President. And even for this purpose, no stroke of the pen was ever more vain, than that which shall mark those black lines around the resolution of the Senate, and write that sentence of expunction on its face—if, indeed, it be not calculated to work the direct contrary effect to that intended. The victory of the President over the Senate may be as complete without it. And if, unhappily, the fruits of that victory shall ripen into their full maturity of bitterness—in times to come, when the constitution of the Senate shall be subverted—when the check it was ordained to hold upon the power of the Executive, and of the popular national branch of the Legislature, shall be removed—when the substance of the constitution shall be destroyed, and nothing but its empty forms remain; History will paint those black lines drawn around this resolution, and those fatal words of condemnation written across its face, and hold them up as a mournful memento to ourselves of departed liberty, and a warning to some happier race of mankind. If, on the other hand, the Senate shall, by the blessing of Providence, continue to maintain its place in the system—still exercising the functions for which it was designed—enjoying freedom of deliberation and independence of action; then will the manuscript volume of the journal, and indeed the single page, containing those memorable circular black lines, be the only volume, and the only page, that will ever be sought after, or read. The process of expunging the resolution, is the surest way to render the memory of it immortal.

It cannot be forgotten, that very shortly before I was first elected to the Senate, the General Assembly of Virginia, upon long and solemn deliberation, *Resolved*, "1. That the recent act of the President of the United States, exerting a control over the public deposites, by causing them to be withheld and withdrawn, on his own responsibility, from the United States Bank, in which they had been ordered to be placed by the act of Congress chartering the said bank, is, in the judgment of the General Assembly, a dangerous and alarming assumption of power by that officer, which cannot be too strongly condemned. 2. That, while the General Assembly will ever be ready to sustain the President in the exercise of all such powers as the constitution has confided to him, they, nevertheless, cannot but regard with apprehension and distrust the disposition to extend his official authority beyond its just and proper limits, which he has so clearly manifested in his recent interference with the Treasury Department of the Federal Government, in the exercise of a sound discretion which Congress had confided to the head of that Department alone. 3. That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their best endeavors to procure the adoption, by Congress, of proper measures for restoring the public moneys to the Bank of the United States, or at least causing them to be deposited therein for the future, according to the direction and stipulation of the act of Congress chartering the said bank, if, at the time of their action on the subject, the said bank be, in their opinion, a safe depository of the public treasure." Thus, the General Assembly at that session, expressly affirmed the very proposition (and in far stronger terms) contained in the resolution of the Senate which the present General Assembly condemns; and the resolutions of the former session manifestly presupposes that it was within the competency of the Senate, as well as the House of Representatives, to act upon that proposition, then in fact pending in the Senate. In consequence of those resolutions, one of the Senators from Virginia resigned his seat; a resignation certainly most unexpected to me; equally unexpected, I believe, to the General Assembly. Neither have I ever believed that the resolutions it had adopted were designed to produce any such result. I was, soon after, elected to fill the vacancy. I shall not say, that the resolutions which had recently been adopted by the General Assembly constituted my motive for voting for the resolution passed by the Senate some few weeks after I took my seat; for in truth this resolution expressed the sentiments I myself had all along entertained and expressed. But, surely, I have a right to refer to the instructions of the General Assembly of 1833–'4, requiring me to vote for the resolution which the present General Assembly instructs me to expunge, and to vindicate and sustain myself by their authority: otherwise no Senator can ever safely obey any instruction: he must incur the danger of being driven to the alternative now presented to me, of dishonoring himself by voting against his conscience, or of resigning his place, whenever, in the vicissitudes of party warfare, a subsequent Legislature shall think the instruction wrong. It is with the deepest conviction and heartfelt pain, that I say, as I must say, that the proceedings of the General Assembly of Virginia on the present occasion, are calculated, above all things, to impair the right of instruction itself.

I should have a right, too, after having acted in conformity with the instructions given by the General Assembly at one session, and seeing the same opinions prevail at a succeeding session, to appeal from the mandate of the present Assembly, to the people, at the next elections. And this would seem the more reasonable, if it should be considered, that some of the State Legislatures have, at their sessions of 1834–'5, instructed their Senators to vote for expunging the resolution of the Senate in question; and, though their instructions have been disregarded, have, at their last sessions, deemed to repeat and enforce them. But I choose to place myself, at once, upon different and higher ground, and to act up to the principles, reasons, and motives which, in reality, dictate the conduct I am going to pursue.

It cannot escape observation, that while the General Assembly instructs *me* to *expunge* the resolution of the Senate, which I voted for in conformity with the instructions of the Assembly of 1833–'4, the *present* Assembly has not *expunged* the resolutions of the *former* Assembly. And though (if I am rightly informed) a proposition has been made to *rescind* the former resolutions, even that proposition has not yet been acted on. So that I am to understand that the General Assembly is instructing me to do, in respect to a former resolution of the Senate, that which it will not do itself, in respect to resolutions passed at a former session of its own body. I must bespeak pardon for remarking, further, that, though proceedings have been had in Congress, and some laws have been passed, violating, in the opinion of the General Assembly, *the dearest rights of the people*—take, for example, the sedition law; and though, too, many laws have been passed by the Federal Legislature, which, in the opinion of the General Assembly, transcended its constitutional powers, and encroached upon *the rights of the States*; yet it has never, heretofore, occurred to the General Assembly, in any case or at any time, to assert and vindicate *the rights of the people*, or *the rights of the States*, against such assumptions of power by the Congress, by an expunction (literal or typical) of the obnoxious proceedings from the journals of the two Houses. And now, for the first time, when a simple resolution of the Senate is supposed (by some unaccountable misconception of its import and intention) to encroach upon the rights of the national branch of the Federal Legislature, which probably has not perceived, and certainly has not complained of, the encroachment—or (to speak plainly) when the Senate has presumed to question the rights and powers claimed for the executive department by the President, who alone has complained and protested against its proceedings—I see the General Assembly of Virginia coming forward to vindicate *the rights and powers claimed by the President*, by this process of expunction, which it has never thought of resorting to for the vindication either of *the rights of the people* or *the rights of the States*. I mention these strange contrasts, because they have raised the gloomiest apprehensions in my mind, of approaching danger to our republican institutions, and because those apprehensions have had an important influence in determining my judgment and my conduct under the extraordinary instructions which the General Assembly has thought proper to give me.

The General Assembly can have no reason to doubt, and I am quite sure does not doubt, that I voted for the resolution of the Senate which it condemns as unconstitutional and mischievous, under a sincere conviction that it was constitutional, wise, and even necessary to assert and vindicate the authority of the laws; neither can it doubt that this is still my opinion, yet, without designing to suggest any reasons to enlighten and convince my understanding, the General Assembly gives me a preremptory instruction to propose and vote for the expunction of this resolution from the journal of the Senate; and it insists that I must obey its will and command—or resign my office. It instructs me to vote to expunge from the journal, that which it knows as well as I do, is there truly recorded; it instructs me to deface, and in a manner to falsify a public record, which it knows the constitution explicitly requires the Senate to keep; and (to remove my scruples) it prescribes the expunction of the resolution from the journal, figuratively and typically, in such a manner as can only serve to elude the positive injunction of the constitution, and to signalize the humiliation and disgrace of the Senate, without at all affecting the historical evidence of the fact: it instructs of me to do this—or resign. It instructs me so to expunge, as *not* to expunge, the resolution: it requires of me in a word, a jesuitical equivocation with my oath and conscience; and (considering the knowledge it must have of the opinions I entertain) it commands me to incur dishonor, shame and guilt—or resign. It requires me, in effect, to give my recorded sanction to the prerogatives claimed by the President in his memorable protest against the proceedings of the Senate, and to the limitations he thinks proper to set upon the rights, powers and privileges of this body: well knowing the opinions I have avowed on the questions of constitutional right, and I hope not doubting their sincerity, the General Assembly commands me to inflict this (in

my sense of things) vital blow upon the Constitution of my country—or resign. I cannot shut my eyes against the truth—plain and glaring upon the very face of the transaction—that such instructions were not given me with any expectation or view, or perhaps even wish, that I should yield obedience to them. There is, in truth, no choice between the alternatives proposed to me; and I believe most undoubtingly that it was not designed to leave me any choice; that the real and the only purpose of the instructions was to compel me to resign—"to instruct me out of my seat." Indeed, it seems to me that this design is almost avowed in the preamble and resolutions you have transmitted to me. For the preamble recites as a motive for the proceeding, that "the Assembly deem it *their solemn duty* again to reassert the *duty* of the representative to *obey* or resign;" and then, after giving me an instruction which the General Assembly knew that *I* could not *obey* without crime and foul disgrace, it resolves—"that it is the *duty* of the representative to *obey* the instructions of his constituents, or to resign the trust with which they have clothed him, in order that it may be transferred into the hands of those who will carry into execution the wishes and instructions of the constituent body."

It was impossible that I should have remained ignorant of, and it is equally impossible for me to forget the political operations in Virginia during the past year. I know that the design of 'instructing me out of my seat'—or (in courtly phrase) 'giving me a walking ticket,' was early and openly avowed and recommended; that it was an advantage not a little vaunted, which the victors promised themselves from the success they achieved at the last annual elections; that the scheme of the instruction was proposed and discussed, and the very method of typical expunction which the General Assembly has adopted strenuously recommended as the proper and sure means of driving me to a resignation, in the public prints, which are sometimes the organs and sometimes the dictators of party plans. I know, moreover, that the proceeding was aimed at *me*—particularly at *me;* and that, to insure its success, no effort has been spared to exaggerate my faults, such as they are; to falsify the history of my life, simple and obscure as hitherto it had been, and barren of interest; to misrepresent all my motives, sentiments and actions; and to raise such a storm of public indignation against me as should make me bend like the willow in the fable, and preserve a worthless existence by yielding rather than be torn up by the roots like the sturdy oak and laid forever prostrate on the earth. I shall fulfil my destiny with firmness and composure. Let me thank my enemies for having given me a consequence which my own merits would never have achieved that enables me to act a conspicuous and useful part in the defence of the "free institutions" of my country. I ought to be grateful to the General Assembly for placing me as it were at the head of a forlorn hope in the contest now waging for the preservation of the Constitution and the Laws; and though I am as sensible of the danger as I am of the honor of the post assigned me, I hope, with the blessing of God, to approve myself not altogether unworthy of it.

If the General Assembly had any object at heart pursued directly for its own value, and not as a means of accomplishing, by indirection, other objects plainly unjust and unconstitutional—and should give me an instruction to use my endeavors in my official station to promote its views—an instruction which it believed I could conscientiously obey—an instruction framed with no design to force me to a resignation; and if in such a case I should think the end aimed at unconstitutional, and should be, therefore, unwilling to be an active agent in accomplishing it; the case would be a very strong one indeed, and attend with very peculiar circumstances, in which I would retain my seat and stand as an obstruction to the accomplishment of the measure desired. But regarding the present instruction as mainly directed to the purpose of forcing me "to resign the trust with which," the General Assembly "has clothed me, in order that it may be transferred into the hands of those who will carry into execution the wishes and instructions of the constituent body"—wishes and instructions I think plainly contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution; and deeply convinced as I am that my resignation would more vitally affect the integrity of the Constitution than even an explicit obedience to the instruction, I have, therefore, come to a resolution, that I cannot, ought not, and will not resign.

I pray the General Assembly to accompany me for a brief space, and to accompany me with patience, in a consideration of the practical consequences of the precedent and of the doctrine (for precedent will soon grow into doctrine) which it proposes to establish; namely, that the State Legislatures may give instructions to their Senators in Congress, which they believe they cannot obey without conscious dishonor and crime, and therefore will not obey, in order to force them to the alternative of resignation.

The unavoidable effect will be, to change the tenure of the Senatorial office from a term of six years, which the Constitution has ordained, to a tenure during the pleasure of the respective State Legislatures that elect them; to make the Senate, which was plainly designed and that for the most obvious purposes, to be the most permanent body in the Government, in effect and in practice the most fluctuating, transient and unstable.

The Senate, constructed on the federative principle, to represent the sovereignties of the states, which, from the nature of sovereignty, are coequal, is so essential to their existence and preservation, that if the Senate were abolished from the system—the other branches of the Government, both of which are national in their character, remaining in full force—it is hard to imagine how the State Governments, or any thing more than the forms of them, could long endure. And whatever tends to diminish the weight of the Senate in the system, must tend to impair, in exactly the same proportion, the state sovereignties themselves, and to a general consolidation of them all into one empire. The federative Senate, representing the States, was designed as the balance of the system—as a check on the popular branch of the Legislature, and on the Executive, both of which are almost entirely national in their constitution—and, in matters of important and permanent interest, it is a check that can very rarely operate for a longer time than may suffice to mature the judgment of the people on sober dispassionate reflection. The Senate cannot, if it would, counteract the permanent will, the deliberate settled judgment of the nation. The House of Representatives, elected for two years, representing the people immediately, and therefore more exactly representing their opinions and wishes for the time being, and more apt also to represent their passions, is in that way endued with a power and influence which the shortness of its term of office hardly suffices to countervail. The President, elected for four years, clothed with all the powers necessary for the Executive of a Government charged with the foreign relations of the nation, with his veto on the acts of the Legislature, and the whole patronage of Government in his hands, is far more than the equal in power of either branch of the Legislature, and, in the opinion of many, more powerful that both combined. His very unity is a principle of strength. The only means of making the Senate co-ordinate with the other departments, was that which has been resorted to; namely, to make it more permanent: and hence it was, that the senatorial term of office was made three times as long as that of the representatives, and half as long again as that of the President. If the senatorial term of office be reduced, the power of its check on the national branches of the Government will be proportionally impaired; if it be made to depend on the pleasure of the state legislatures, the check will be almost annihilated; and the state sovereignties must share its fate, and be impaired or annihilated with it. To me, therefore, it seems that the state governments would commit an imprudent act, if they should consent to shorten the term of the senatorial office; and a suicidal one, if they should establish the principle, in theory or in practice, that their Senators shall hold their offices only during pleasure.

But whether these views are wise or not, all will agree that the tenure of the senatorial office, being for a term of six years fixed by the constitution, is not now, and was not designed to be, dependent on the pleasure of the state legislatures, and can be nowise authoritatively made so but by an amendment of the constitution of the United States, perfected according to the provisions of the 5th article; and that such an amendment would work a vital change in the whole constitution of the federal government, and in the relations between that and the state governments. If the doctrine which the General Assembly now asserts, and which it calls upon me to give my aid to establish by setting the example of conforming with it, shall become generally prevalent in the other states of the Union as well as Virginia, then will that vital change be wrought in our institutions as effectually as it could be by an amendment of the constitution, and this by means the most irregular and the most contrary that can well be conceived to the cautious spirit of the provision for future amendments.

The doctrine is, that a Senator in Congress is bound to yield implicit obedience to any instruction which the State Legislature that elected him may give him, or to resign—no matter how plainly unconstitutional, no matter how base and criminal the act which he is enjoined to perform may be *in his own judgment*—that he has no right to exercise his own judgment at all, or consult his own conscience; he is not, in this case, a moral agent; he has no alternative but to obey or resign.

If this doctrine shall become generally adopted and established throughout the United States, by the assertion and exercise of it on the one part and submission to it on the other, I pray the General Assembly to consider for a moment, the probable workings of the principle in practice. Whenever the President shall feel the check of senatorial opposition—if the Senators in opposition shall have the firmness to continue refractory to his will, unmoved and unawed by his power—especially if there shall be nearly a ballance of parties in the body so that a few changes may reverse the majority—the President will be placed under the strongest temptations to have recourse to the state legislatures in order to disembarrass himself of the opposition. Suitable, nay even plausible, pretexts will never be wanting to justify or excuse their interference. There will be no difficulty at any time, much more in times of violent party excitement, to select some prominent measure involving a question of constitutional right, and to frame an instruction upon it to the refractory Senator which it is known he cannot conscientiously obey, and therefore will not obey, and to require him, nevertheless, to obey or resign. And to obtain the instruction, we may surely expect to see all the mighty influence of presidential power and patronage brought to bear upon the state legislatures, and upon the elections to them—to delude and demoralize the people—to tamper with, corrupt and seduce the state assemblies, whose Senators in Congress it may be deemed most important or most feasible to remove. Fit instruments and agents for the work will always abound, and volunteer in the service—the venal panders of power, the whole tribe of parasites and sycophants zealous to conciliate favor, the vain aspirants after political importance, honor and notoriety—all will crowd into the President's train, and vie with each other in doing his biddings. I am speaking of the probable, natural, inevitable effects of political causes put into action. I do not believe, and therefore I am not insinuating, that the General Assembly intends to open the field for these abominations. I speak with freedom, but not without sincere respect. It is the firm conviction of my mind that there never was, and cannot be, a process invented better calculated than that which I am now called upon to take an active part in establishing, to place the Federal Executive under the strongest temptation to employ its influence, power and patronage in the purchase of subservient Senators; and to place the state assemblies under temptation to provide the commodity for market; to destroy the purity of the people, upon which all depends at last; to destroy the purity of the state assemblies, and to prostrate their dignity, authority and influence in the dust. As to the Senate, that will soon be, to all purposes of useful service which it was intended to answer in the system of the federal government, absolutely annihilated.

And if this doctrine shall, in practice, be confined to Virginia, as perhaps it may be, and judging from present appearances probably will be—then these abominations will be confined to her alone; her people alone will be exposed to the process of demoralization, her assembly to the arts of corruption and seduction; and her ancient dignity and pristine glory will only be remembered to point the tauntings of scorn at her fallen condition.

Many there are, I know, many good and thinking men, especially in Virginia, who differ with me on this subject; who approve the doctrine I have been controverting in principle, and hope the most beneficial results from it in practice; who are as firm in the conviction that it is necessary to the maintenance of the state sovereignties, as I am in the belief that its probable indeed unavoidable effect will be, to impair, degrade and prostrate them; and whose minds are, therefore, predisposed to condemn my opinions and my conduct on this occasion. I do not presume to censure *them;* and I must patiently abide the censure they will pronounce on me. If with the sentiments I entertain concerning this doctrine, and the pernicious consequences that are likely to flow from it, I should consent to become an active instrument in establishing it, by setting an example of conforming with it, I could not ask the forgiveness of my country, and should hardly hope for mercy from Heaven.

I see, with no little surprise, that it is declared, in the preamble to the resolutions of the General Assembly which you have transmitted to me, that the Assembly deem it their duty *again to reassert*, in behalf of themselves and the people of Virginia, the *right* of the constituent to instruct, and the *duty* of the representative *to obey or resign:*" from which I infer, that the General Assembly supposes, that this same doctrine has been asserted more than once before. I can only say, that if this peculiar doctrine ever was asserted before, I do not know when, where, or on what occasion, it was asserted. It certainly is not asserted, nor was it intended to be asserted, in the preamble and resolutions, adopted by the General Assembly in February 1812, on the subject of the right of instruction. That paper was the work of my own hands, without assistance from any other person whatever, and drawn up (as I but too well remember) with a haste, which, in my own apprehension at the time, materially impaired its value; yet, upon a recent and careful review of it, I do not find myself inclined to retract, or to modify, in any essential point, the propositions there asserted and maintained; and therefore I am willing, and even desirous, that my present opinions and conduct shall be tested by them. I was then a young statesman, but not a very young man; and it had been fixed in my mind by reflection and by the lessons of history, as a rudiment in ethics and in politics, that no proposition can be stated in either, however just and true, when properly understood and applied, that may not, if abused, misapplied or pushed to extremes, result in vice or folly. Sensible that the right of instruction and the correlative duty of obedience might be abused to the purpose of commanding violations of the constitution, and even acts of moral turpitude—so abused, under the influence of excitement and passion, to which the constituent body as well as the representative, like all other men, might sometimes be subject—I took the utmost pains to guard the doctrine against such abuses. Let us see how I accomplished the object. The very claim which I understand the General Assembly now to assert to power in itself and to obedience from me—absolute power on the one hand and blind obedience on the other—is stated as an objection to the reasoning of the preamble, and answered as follows:

"But it has been said that a state government may instruct its Senators to violate the constitution of the United states—that a state in actual insurrection against the General Government, may instruct its Senators to promote the cause of rebellion: *and it is asked, whether the Senator would be bound by such instruction to violate the constitution he had sworn to preserve*, and to overthrow the Government he had sworn to defend? It may be answered in the first place, that the particular instruction which forms the subject of present consideration, could by no possibility involve a breach of the constitution of the United States. It might, and in the opinion of this Assembly would have been, unconstitutional to charter the Bank of the United States anew; but surely it could not possibly be deemed unconstitutional not to charter it. As to the rest, without determining the point which has been taken for granted that a state in open rebellion against the general government would still be entitled to its representation in the Senate, which to say the least is extremely doubtful—it is admitted without difficulty that *if a state instruct its Senator to give a vote plainly unconstitutional*, or to raise the standard of rebellion, *the Senator is not bound to obey such instruction. Every case, such as that supposed, must stand upon its own peculiar circumstances;* it supposes all bounds of right transcended, all legitimate rule prostrated, and *the propriety of opposition* must be determined *by the nature of the injustice, the extent of the mischief, and the prudence of resistance.* But it is no argument against the exercise of a lawful power, that it may be made the pretext for the assumption of an unlawful power. The right of instruction, rightfully exercised, with no evil intention, to no pernicious object, cannot be affected by the admission, that if a state government or the general government become corrupt and ambitious, and usurp tyrannical power, it may of right and ought to be resisted. The admission is cheerfully made. *The General Assembly of Virginia is incapable of affirming the exploded doctrine of non resistance.*" And upon this reasoning in the preamble, the two resolutions of a general nature with which the paper concludes, assert—"That it is the indubitable right of the state legislatures to instruct their Senators in Congress, on all points, either constitutional or politic, whenever the magnitude of the occasion shall require such interference, and that, by consequence, it is the bounden duty of the Senators to obey such instructions; *provided the instructions to be given and obeyed require not the Senator to commit a violation of the constitution or an act of moral turpitude.* That after this solemn expression of the opinion of the General Assembly on the right of instruction and the duty of obedience thereto, no man ought henceforth to accept the appointment of a Senator of the United States from Virginia who doth not hold himself bound to obey such instructions;"—meaning obviously such legitimate instructions as those mentioned in the previous resolution.

The resolutions, then, which are the conclusions resulting from the reasoning of the preamble, expressly declare, that the instructions which the state legislatures have a right to give their Senators in Congress, and which it is the bounden duty of the Senators to obey, are such only as "require not the Senator to commit a violation of the constitution or an act of moral turpitude." And it is expressly stated in the preamble, "that if a state instruct its Senator to give a vote plainly unconstitutional," "the Senator is not bound to obey such instruction"—that every case of the kind "must stand on its own peculiar circumstances"—and that "the propriety of opposition must be determined by the nature of the injustice, the extent of the mischief, and the prudence of resistance." The alternative here proposed to the Senator is not *obedience or resignation*, but *obedience or resistance;* to be determined by the considerations by which all resistance to the authority of government must ever be determined.

If an instruction were given me to vote for a measure of no very material consequence—a measure which, if adopted, would not lead to any serious permanent evil—and yet I could not, for reasons of any kind, conscientiously vote for the proposed measure—in such a case I might very properly and should without hesitation resort to a resignation, in order to evade the painful alternative of obedience or resistance. Or if an instruction were given me which I could not obey without violence to my conscience, and the "peculiar circumstances" of the case should nevertheless be such that my resignation would be attended with far less of evil than the accomplishment of the object of the instruction, and would not be itself a source of equal or greater evil; in such a case as this, too, I might, consistently with my sense of duty, and very gladly should, disembarrass myself of the alternative of obedience or resistance by a resignation. In truth, resignation is a *privilege*, not a *duty*—a privilege allowed the Senator by which he may wholly avoid the alternative of obedience or resistance, as expounded in the preamble and resolutions of February, 1812.

Here the General Assembly has instructed me to do that which, in my judgment and conscience, would be a crime, and of course *in me* an act of moral turpitude: I cannot obey without crime; and in my opinion, formed upon long and anxious deliberation, resignation would inflict a more vital blow on the constitution, because it would be followed by far more serious and mischievous consequences to both the federal and the state government than a literal obedience to the instruction. The alternative is then forced upon me, of obedience or resistance; an alternative which would be painful enough in itself, and is rendered doubly so to me by considerations which I shall mention in the sequel.

He that would judge my conduct fairly, should suppose himself in my situation, and bring home to his own bosom the opinions I entertain, and the motives by which I am actuated. If the views I have unfolded, as to the nature of the instruction that has been given to me, the real object at which it was aimed, the turpitude and criminality which, entertaining the sentiments I do, I should incur by yielding obedience to it, and the impossibility of resigning without giving my aid to a dangerous innovation on the constitution, be not wholly groundless, then, I apprehend, there is no man who can think that "the nature of the injustice, and the extent of the mischief," do not justify, and call for, resistance. I have understood it has been supposed, that all the moral responsibility rests on the constituent body, and the Senator is relieved from any portion of it; that it is the province of the constituent to judge and his to believe and obey. Can it be really thought that the official oath of a Senator to support the constitution of the United States, is subject to an exception which exempts him from the duty of supporting it against infringements attempted by the State Legislature that has elected him? that the Senator may and ought to take the oath with a mental reservation, that he will suport the constitution, unless he shall be commanded by the constituent body to violate it? Surely, the General Assembly is not going to give its high sanction to doctrines of this kind, which would sap the foundations of all public virtue. The truth is, that, in all contests between those who exercise authority and those over whom it is exercised, as to the rightful exercise of such authority—as to the duty of obedience, or the right of resistance—both parties must, in the nature of things, judge for themselves; and the only difference between them is, that the party resisting power, resists at his peril; which alone suffices, in general, to determine him against resistance, except in extreme cases. To say that those who hold power have the sole right to exercise judgment, and that those over whom power is exercised have no right to judge for themselves whether they are oppressed or not, were to affirm the very doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance maintained by the University of Oxford in the reign of James II. The commands of the constituent Legislature, cannot justify, or even excuse, the Senator, in a palpable violation of the constitution, or in an act of moral turpitude. The servant, and even the slave, is not bound to obey, and more, is not excusable for obeying, the unlawful commands of his master.

Then, as to "the prudence of resistance" in this case. All questions of resistance to authority present a compound consideration of right and expediency. However just and right resistance may be in itself, yet it ought never to be resorted to unless there be a reasonable hope of correcting the mischief, and securing some good end; nor ought any man, however strong his sense of wrong and injustice, to involve others with himself in a hopeless, useless, dangerous effort of resistance. This last objection to the course I have resolved to pursue I have taken the most effectual care to obviate. I have asked the advice of no man, much as I desired the advice of my friends, and willingly as I should have sought it, if I could have done so without danger of committing them, as men of honor, to share my fate; I have indeed, communicated my purpose to very few, and to them in the strictest confidence. I have held no correspondence with any member of the General Assembly on this subject, since the commencement of its present session; and, in fact, have written only one short note on a different topic to one of them, lest correspondence commenced on other subjects might lead to correspondence on this. This line of conduct had its inconveniences, to which I was not insensible; but I could not depart from it without abandoning the system of action I had prescribed for myself, and involving others in my difficulties. No man, for aught that I have done, stands

committed to share my fate; for aught that I have done to draw others to my support, I stand alone, sustained only by the conscious virtue of my motives and purposes, and a confidence in my own firmness to meet and abide the result. I *trust* I am actuated by no false pride, and no vainglorious opinion of my own importance, (for if I am, the fault is not owing to the want of a most careful self examination and scrutiny,) in thinking and declaring my belief and humble hope that the sacrifice I am making of myself, of all prospects of political honors and distinction in future, and even of the affectionate regards of many whose esteem and confidence I have hitherto enjoyed, may have some slight effect in saving the constitution of my country from violation; saving the Senate from subversion, and with it saving the state sovereignties from utter prostration; and even placing the right of instruction itself upon the only stable grounds on which it can be rested, by so guarding it from abuse and misapplication that it may appear to all men's minds an agent of good, worthy to be respected and preserved; not an evil principle, to be eschewed and rooted out.

I see, from the vote of the two Houses of the General Assembly on the second of the resolutions transmitted to me, that most of my own friends approved the principle therein declared, that it is the duty of the Senator to obey, implicity obey, the instructions of the State Legislature, or to resign. All these will, of course, disapprove the resolutions I have taken: this is ominous, probably decisive, of the destiny that awaits me. In all likelihood, before the heats that now inflame the public mind shall be extinguished, I shall attain to an age which will render me unfit for any active public service. I have the clearest preception of all these consequences. But I hope I shall be pardoned for saying, that I cannot, and will not do what I think wrong in principle, and mischievous, fatal in its effects, to comply with the wishes of my friends, and to retain their approbation and support, any more than to avert or escape from the rage of my enemies. I do not pretend to be insensible to popularity, especially to the favor of my native state; but, if I know myself, my love of popularity has its source rather in my own attachment to the people than in the hope or desire of any rewards they can bestow; and I would not betray what I think the interest of Virginia to gain her favor, dear as it is to me. I care for no fame but that which I have little prospect of obtaining—the renown of good and useful deeds, which survives the author of them.

It is proper that I should tell the General Assembly and the public that, when I returned home, after the termination of the session of Congress of 1834-'5, I had come to a resolution to leave the Senate; that I would keep it in my power to take my seat, under my last election to this body, in case an extra session of Congress should be called by the President; but that I would resign the office, or (which was the same thing) decline the acceptance of it, at the commencement of the then next session of the General Assembly. This resolution, dictated by a sense of the duty I owed my family, was so openly announced, that I suppose it must have been generally known, at least, in the city of Richmond. It was not until the scheme of "intrusting me out of my seat" was agitated, after the result of the spring elections was ascertained, that I saw that, if I should decline to take my seat under my new appointment, it would have precisely the same pernicious consequences which would result from a forced resignation, under instructions which I could not, in conscience, obey; that I changed the resolution I had previously formed, and determined to accept the appointment, and abide the consequences. I shall hold my seat only long enough to signalize my resistance to what I honestly believe to be unconstitutional instructions. I say now, that I shall, in all events, resign it at the commencement of the next session of the General Assembly.

I beg leave, also, to explain the reason that induced me not to divulge the course I intended to pursue, until the final action of the General Assembly on the expunging resolutions was announced. I did not think it proper or respectful to the General Assembly to invite a contest with it, which it might possibly be not unwilling to avoid, by declaring, in anticipation, that I would not obey such instructions as I understood were in contemplation, if they should be given me.

I have only to add that, as to the merits of the resolution of the Senate of the 28th March, 1834, which the General Assembly condemns—both in respect to the truth of the proposition it contains, and the right of the Senate to act upon the subject—these are points which ought properly to be discussed in the Senate; and that I shall endeavor to vindicate the resolution, in both aspects, if, and whenever, it shall be brought under consideration.

Praying you, gentlemen, to lay this letter before the two Houses of the General Assembly in which you respectively precide,

I have the honor to be, with all respect, your and their humble servant,

B. W. LEIGH.

In the public schools of Massachusetts there are 73,254 male, and 38,823 female children attending.

THE STANDARD.

Friday, March 18.

It is amusing sometimes to see with what facility stereotype phrases, having no connexion with truth, are made to fill up paragraphs in some of our Van Buren prints. Of this kind of composition the editor of the Milton Spectator has furnished two fair samples in his notice of the two political meetings recently held in this town. Of his remarks in relation to the White meeting, we took some notice in our last; we have now before us his notice of the Van Buren meeting. For some of the individuals who attended the Van Buren meeting we have always entertained high personal respect, and out of regard for them, we not only very readily published the proceedings of the meeting, but did not intend to make one word of remark disrespectful of it. The editor of the Milton Spectator might have said what he pleased in praise of his meeting, of their numbers and their patriotism, and our forbearance would have been continued, had he observed any thing like justice towards another portion of our fellow citizens, more numerous, and equally respectable and patriotic.

In our former notice, we gave a summary of what the Spectator said of our White meeting; we will now in like manner furnish a summary of what he says of the Van Buren Meeting. "It was," he as a matter of course says, "very respectably attended by the substantial farmers and planters of the country—those who have no personal ambition to gratify save that which is connected with their country's good." "It was not only a meeting of the friends of Mr. Van Buren, but of the *real* (not *pretended*) friends of the present administration." "Some of the White Whigs, of whom there are a goodly number in and about the ancient borough of Hillsborough, *long the hot-bed of federalism*, attended the meeting, for what purpose we leave our readers to guess. If it was to indulge in sport and ridicule, we have only to say they were sadly disappointed." "After the conclusion of the meeting, some of them commenced discharging the vials of their wrath, in which Mr. Van Buren and our respected Senator in Congress, Mr. Brown, received a full share. The republicans, however, nothing daunted, maintained their ground, and hurled back their foul slanders and imputations." !!!

Now of all this slang and bluster we shall take but a very brief survey. In the first place, as to *numbers;* the meeting was about equal to that held by the friends of Judge White; but we have been very creditably informed, (we were not present and cannot therefore speak of 'our own knowledge;') but we have been very creditably informed, that if the yeas and nays had been taken on the passage of the resolutions, and the Whigs had been disposed to take the advantage, they would have out voted the other party. In *respectability* we suppose they were not much *above* the White meeting; for the Spectator acknowledges that *they* also were "highly respectable gentlemen." Which had less of "personal ambition," and more of "their country's good" at heart, we shall not take upon ourselves to say. Those most loud in *profession*, are generally in the rear when the day of trial comes. The slur intended to be cast by the reference to the *real* and *pretended* friends of the present administration, is hardly worthy of notice. There are many who are still ardent admirers of General Jackson, who never will vote for Martin Van Buren; and of the White men we know of none who *pretend* more friendship for the present administration than we have reason to think they really possess. And furthermore, few except Van Buren men, consider an opposition to his election as any evidence of hostility to General Jackson. "The party" have labored hard to produce this impression, but its effect is rapidly passing away. The people know that Judge White has been an ardent supporter of the principal measures of the administration of General Jackson; and they believe he possesses honesty of heart and firmness of purpose enough to continue to support them as far as he shall conceive them to be right; and farther the Republicans of Orange county would not have him to go.

The Spectator says, that Hillsborough has long been "the hot-bed of federalism." We shall not endeavor to refute the charge, until the editor shall explain what he means by the term. If he intends nothing more than that the inhabitants of Hillsborough are earnestly desirous of preserving the purity of our institutions and *the union* of the states, we shall be satisfied. We have before called upon the editor to explain what he means by the term "democracy of the people," but he does not answer, and we doubt if he be able. And the editor of the Standard appears to be equally ignorant in this matter, though the phrase is continually coming from under his pen. If our request is much longer delayed, we may ourselves endeavour to explain the phrase for them.

But the editor of the Spectator appears to be apprehensive that the large number of White men who attended his meeting, did so for the purpose of indulging in "sport and ridicule." Why this apprehension? Was he conscious that there was enough of materiel in the meeting to furnish food for such a disposition? Let us look at the proceedings.

Col. John Stockard, a very respectable gentleman, presided, and in appropriate terms announced the object of the meeting; the secretaries also were respectable gentlemen. So far, then, there was nothing for sport or ridicule. A number of gentlemen friendly to Mr. Van Buren had assembled, as they had a right to do, to devise measures to promote his election. Tracing the proceedings of the meeting, we next see a string of resolutions prepared and submitted by James M. Williamson, esq. a member of the last House of Commons from *Person* county, who also addressed the meeting; he was followed by Nathaniel J. Palmer, esq. of *Caswell*, a county belonging to another district. Now there might be something of the ludicrous in gentlemen of *Person* and *Caswell* officiating as principal actors in a meeting of the citizens of *Orange* county—and a thought of the kind might have passed across the mind of some "White Whig" present; but whatever were their thoughts they remained silent spectators—merely "lookers on." How many "vials of wrath" were discharged after the meeting, and how valiantly the Vans defended themselves, we are unable to say; we think, however, that the editor of the Spectator must have slept since then; or else he must be somewhat related to the renowned Sir John Falstaff. Whatever of prowess was displayed, we know that the action was soon over; and in a few moments after, when we entered the court room, none of its effects were visible. One missive passed in our presence; it was not, however, discharged from a "vial of wrath;" it was the effervescence of pure good nature. A White man observed to one of the orators, that he thought the meeting would have been a little more complete if they had elevated to the chair James Raney, esq. a distinguished citizen of *Caswell* county, who was present, and who, we have heard it said, came here purposely to attend the meeting. In that case the Van Buren meeting here would in a more perceptible degree have resembled the Van Buren convention at Baltimore.

The able letter of the Hon. Benjamin W. Leigh, a Senator in Congress from the state of Virginia, on the subject of the expunging resolution, and the right of instruction, which occupies a large portion of our columns to day, is worthy of an attentive perusal.

The Spring term of the Superior Court for this county was held in this place during the last week, Judge Donnell presiding.

The case of the State against Henry Harris, a man of color, charged with setting fire to the Jail of this county, was, on affidavit, removed to Caswell county for trial. It will be seen by an advertisement in another column, that he has since escaed.

James Adcock, indicted for Burglary committed by breaking and entering the house of Mrs. Elizabeth Caruthers in the night time, and purloining a pocket book and several other small articles, was convicted, and sentenced to be hung on the last Saturday in May next.

Alston Durham, indicted for the murder of Sarah Durham, the wife of a cousin of his, was tried and acquitted on the ground of insanity. The jury were probably justified in their verdict by the evidence before them; the high penalty attached to the crime renders proper a great degree of caution in rendering a verdict of guilty. Yet there were some circumstances tending to show that he had long meditated the horrid deed; and that if he was insane at the time of committing the act, it was the consequence of having long indulged in the desperate feelings of hatred and revenge.

Public Meeting in Person County.

We understand that a large political meeting was held at the court house in Person county on Tuesday last. Proclamation was at first made for a meeting of the friends of Martin Van Buren; but after some conversation the proclamation was modified, and the citizens of the county generally were invited. Upon this last invitation a large number of citizens collected in the court room, and the meeting was organized. A number of resolutions were submitted by James M. Williamson, esq. in favor of Martin Van Buren, which he supported in a speech of some length. He was replied to in a very powerful and effective address by Edwin G. Read, esq. Mr. Williamson rejoined; and Mr. Read was about again to reply, when he was stopped by Mr. Williamson on the ground that the meeting was intended *exclusively* for the friends of Mr. Van Buren. At this time there were upwards of eighty persons present. William Allen, esq. a very respectable citizen of Person, then observed, that if it was to be a party meeting he would retire; he did so, and was followed by so large a number that on counting there were found to be but *thirty-five* persons remaining. So much for Van Burenism in Person county.

The Van Buren party in Orange county appears to be fast fading away. A Van Buren meeting was advertised to be held at William Trice's store on the 5th inst. for the purpose of nominating candidates for the Legislature. The day arrived, and though there were some twenty or thirty persons present, there were, we understand, but *three* Van Buren men amongst them.

The editor of the Standard, though very ungracefully, acknowledges his mistake in charging Mr. Waddell with being the writer of a certain editorial which recently appeared in our paper. From the following extract from the Raleigh Register, it will be seen that he has been mistaken in another point, upon which his assertion was no less positive.

"The Standard is endeavoring to magnify a molehill into a mountain. At the Whig meeting which took place in this city, on the 22d December, the junior editor of this paper acted as one of the secretaries. He took some hasty notes of the brief discussion which ensued on the occasion, intending to incorporate it in the account of the proceedings. When however, he came to draw them off for publication, he found his notes too indistinct to be decyphered and did not attempt it. The Standard charges that Mr. Waddell, of Orange, made an inflammatory speech on the occasion, and that we have suppressed it for fear its violence might injure him with his constituents. *Jack Falstaff's* exclamation about a certain propensity of the world might well be repeated here. The fact is, the editor of the Standard is so familiar with "treason, stratagems and spoils," that he sees a plot in every paragraph in a Whig newspaper. We have never exchanged a word with Mr. Waddell, orally or by letter, in relation to his speech or the proceedings of that meeting. And we only think it necessary to state this, lest some one as malignant as the Standard editor should suppose there is any truth in his inuendoes."

The following nominations by the President have been confirmed by the Senate:

Roger B. Taney, to be Chief Justice of the United States.

Philip P. Barbour, to be an Associate Judge of the United States.

Amos Kendall, to be Post Master General.

Andrew Stevenson, of Virginia, to be Minister to England.

John H. Eaton, to be Minister to Spain.

Richard K. Call, to be Governor of Florida, *vice* J. H. Eaton.

Mr. Fox, his Britannic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the United States, arrived at the city of Washington on the 13th inst.

State Loan.—We learn that one hundred thousand dollars of the loan authorized by the last Legislature have been purchased by the University of North Carolina at par, with a stipulation to pay a premium equal to that for which the same amount of scrip may be sold in disposing of the residue. No final agreement has yet been made by the commissioner, Mr. Haywood, for disposing of the residue, but, we understand, he has entered into a negociation for selling the same, at a premium which will probably prove beneficial to the state.

Register.

Small Pox.—Judge Norwood, while holding the Court at Montgomery, was notified by a committee of the citizens at Rockingham, Richmond county, that the Small Pox had broken out about ten miles distant from that place, on the Cheraw road, and requesting the Judge not to hold the term of Superior Court at that place on the 3rd Monday, inst. The Judge concurred with the citizens of this village and notified them that the Court would be opened to receive returns and to have the necessary rules and orders made for the despatch of business at next term, but that no one would be compelled to attend Court. The infection was introduced into this neighborhood by an Ashe wagoner who died with this disease in the neighborhood. It is believed that sufficient precautionary measures have been adopted to prevent the further spread of the disorder.

Carolina Watchman.

FLORIDA.

The Jacksonville Courier of the 10th instant, gives the latest intelligence of the operations in Florida:

"Gen. Clinch with his forces in conjunction with the Alachua militia, making in all about eight hundred, had gone to aid Gen. Gaines. He reached the camp on Saturday, and effected a junction with him. With their united forces, amounting to nearly two thousand men, Gen. Gaines intended crossing the Withlachochee on Monday last. His boats, floating bridges, &c." were all prepared.—He has four twelve pounders, with which to cover his landing on the opposite side of the Withlacoochee. The Indians will undoubtedly make a desperate struggle to prevent his crossing.

The resolution which sometime since passed the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to vote for the bill distributing among the states the revenue derived from the sale of public lands have passed a third reading in the Senate of that state, by a vote of 24 to 7.

The Legislature of Tennessee adjourned *sine die* on the 22d of last month, after having signalized itself by making large appropriations for the purposes of internal improvement, and by *refusing* to adopt the expunging resolutions.

The Hon. Isaac Hill, at present of the United States Senate, has been elected Governor of New Hampshire.

We understand, says the Alexandria Gazette, that the subject of the purchase of Texas from the Mexican Government, is under consideration with the Executive. It is confidently believed by many, that the President and the Cabinet are in favor of the measure, and will recommend it to Congress.

In consequence of the passage of the law incorporating the Bank of the United States, and repealing the state tax on real and personal property, in the state of Pennsylvania, the collectors in that state have been instructed not to collect the state tax laid on the assessment of 1836.

DIED,

In Marion, Alabama, on Monday the 14th instant, Mr. GEORGE MARTIN PALMER, formerly of this place, in the 36th year of his age.

Weekly Almanac.

MARCH.	Sun rises.	Sun sets.	MOON'S PHASES.
25 Friday,	5 55	5 5	
26 Saturday,	5 53	5 7	
27 Sunday,	5 52	6 8	
28 Monday,	5 51	6 9	
29 Tuesday,	5 50	6 10	
30 Wednesday	5 49	6 11	
31 Thursday,	5 48	6 12	

MOON'S PHASES. D. H. M.
Full, 3 4 34 morn
Last, 10 4 6 morn
New, 17 3 4 to morn
First, 25 8 6 morn

NOTICE.

ESCAPED from the guard in Hillsborough, between 8 and 9 o'clock at night on Monday the 21st instant, a prisoner who calls himself HENRY HARRIS, who is indicted for Arson (burning the Jail of this county.) He is a stout negro, about six feet high, yellowish complexion, had on when he escaped a brown dress coat, domestic, and pantaloons of the same, half worn; an old fur hat (bell-crown.) He is quick spoken, intelligent and artful. He was seen in the neighborhood of Hillsborough on Tuesday the 22d, and is probably lurking about the neighborhood, as he has a good many acquaintances here.

JAMES C. TURRENTINE, *Shff.*

March 25. 011—tf

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

THAT at the last term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, letters of administration upon the estate of JOHN RIDER, deceased, were granted to the subscriber; all persons indebted to the said estate are requested to make immediate payment, and those having claims will present them, properly authenticated, within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

STEPHEN MOORE, *Adm'r.*

March 25. 011—

JANUS,

WILL stand the ensuing season, a part of his time at Hillsborough, and a part at Pratt's Store. For particulars see handbills.

YANCY BAILY.

March 25. 11—6w

FORTUNE'S HOME!!

$8,000 for $4!

NORTH CAROLINA

STATE LOTTERY,

FOR THE BENEFIT OF

THE SALISBURY ACADEMY.

Fourth Class, for 1836.

To be drawn at MURFREESBOROUGH, on *Saturday, the 9th April,*

ON THE POPULAR TERMINATING FIGURE SYSTEM.

Stevenson & Points, *Managers*

CAPITAL PRIZE, { $8000!

AND 10 *PRIZES OF* $1,000!

Principal Prizes.

One prize of $8,000—one of $3,000—one of $2,000—ten of $1,000—ten of $500—twelve of $300—besides many of $200, $100, $50, &c. &c.

amounting in all to

180,000 Dollars!!

Whole Tickets,	4 dollars
Halves,	2 dollars
Quarters,	1 dollar

☞ All prizes payable in CASH, forty days after the drawing, subject to a deduction of fifteen per cent.

*** Tickets for sale in the greatest variety of numbers, at my Office, one door above the store of Walker Anderson & Co., in Millsborough, N. C.

ALLEN PARKS, *Agent.*

☞ No. 37,340. $6,000, was sold at Oxford in a package of quarter tickets.

No. 59,376. $1,000, was sold at Hillsborough in a package of half tickets, besides many small prizes.

March 17 011—

House and Lot For Sale.

THE House and Lot on Queen street, belonging to Miss Mary W. Burke, is for sale. The House contains six rooms, is very convenient for a small family, and pleasantly situated. On the lot are also a good Kitchen, Smoke House, and Stables.

For terms apply to

JAMES WEBB.

March 10 10—

THE FAMILY MEETING.

[The following lines were written on occasion of the accidental meeting, a few evenings since, of all the surviving members of a family, the father and mother of which (one eighty-two, the other eighty years old) have lived in the same house *fifty-three* years.]

Boston Courier.

We are all here!
Father, Mother,
Sister, Brother,
All who hold each other dear.
Each chair is filled, we're all *at home*,
To-night let no cold stranger come;
It is not often thus around
Our old familiar hearth we're found.
Bless then the meeting and the spot,
For once be every care forgot;
Let gentle peace assert her power,
And kind affection rule the hour;
We're all—all here.

We're *not* all here!
Some are away—the dead ones dear,
Who thronged with us this ancient hearth,
And gave the hour to guiltless mirth.
Fate, with a stern, relentless hand,
Looked in and thinned our little band;
Some like a night flash passed away,
And some sank, lingering, day by day;
The quiet grave-yard—some lie there,
And cruel Ocean has his share—
We're *not* all here.

We *are* all here!
Even they—the dead—though dead, so dear.
Fond memory, to her duty true,
Brings back their faded forms to view.
How life-like through the mist of years,
Each well remembered face appears;
We see them as in times long past,
From each to each kind looks are cast;
We hear their words, their smiles behold.
They're round us as they were of old—
We *are* all here.

We are all here!
Father, Mother,
Sister, Brother,
You that I love with love so dear—
This may not long of us be said;
Soon must we join the gathered dead,
And by the hearth we now sit round,
Some other circle will be found.
O then that wisdom may we know,
That yields a life of peace below;
So in the world to follow this
May each repeat, in words of bliss,
We're all—*all here!* C. S.

A SCENE FROM RIENZI.

BY E. L. BULWER.

It was later that day than usual when Rienzi returned from his tribunal to the apartments of his palace. As he traversed the reception hall his countenance was much flushed; his teeth were set firmly, like a man who has taken a strong resolution from which he will not be moved; and his brow was dark with that settled and fearful frown which the describers of his personal appearance have not failed to notice as the characteristic of an anger the more deadly because invariably just. Close behind his heels followed the Bishop of Orvietto and the aged Stephen Colonna. 'I tell ye, my lords,' said Rienzi, 'that you plead in vain. Rome knows no distinction between ranks.—The law is blind to the agent, lynx-eyed to the deed.'

'Yet,' said Raimond, hesitatingly, 'bethink thee, tribune: the nephew of two cardinals, and himself once a senator.'

Rienzi halted abruptly and faced his companions. 'My Lord Bishop,' said he, does not this make the crime more inexcusable? Look you, thus it reads: A vessel from Avignon to Naples, charged with the revenues of Provence to Queen Jane, on whose cause, mark you, we now hold solemn council, is wrecked at the mouth of the Tiber; with that Martino di Portu—a noble as you say—the holder of that fortress whence he derived his title, doubly bound by gentle blood and by immediate neighborhood, to succor the distressed—falls upon the vessel with his troops—(what hath the rebel with armed troops?)—and pillages the vessel like a common robber. He is apprehended—brought to my tribunal—receives fair trial—is condemned to die. Such is the laws; what more would he have?'

'Mercy,' said the Colonna.

Rienzi folded his arms and laughed disdainfully. 'I never heard my lord Colonna plead for mercy when a peasant had stolen the bread that was to feed his famishing children.'

'Between a peasant and a prince, tribune, I for one recognise a distinction; the bright blood of an Orsini is not to be shed like that of a base plebian.'

'Which I remember me,' said Rienzi in a low voice, 'you deemed small enough when my boy-brother fell beneath the wanton spear of your proud son. Wake not that memory. I warn you, let it sleep. For shame, old Colonna—for shame! so near the grave, where the worm levels all flesh, and preaching, with those grey hairs, the uncharitable distinction between man and man. Is there not distinction enough at best? Does not one wear purple and the other rags? Hath not one ease and the other toil? Doth not one banquet while the other starves? Do I nourish any mad scheme to level the ranks which renders an evil necessary? No. I war no more with Dives than Lazarus. But before man's judgment seat, as before God's, Lazarus and Dives are made equal. No more.'

Colonna drew his robe round him with great haughtiness and bit his lip in silence. Raimond interposed.

'All this is true, Tribune, but,' and he drew Rienzi aside, 'you know we must be politic as well as just. Nephew to two cardinals, what enmity will not this provoke at Avignon.'

'Vex not yourself, holy Raimond. I will answer it to the Pontiff.' While they spoke the bell tolled heavily and loudly.

Colonna started.

'Great Tribune,' said he with a slight sneer, 'deign to pause ere it be too late. I know not that I ever before bent to you a suppliant, and I ask you now to spare mine own foe. Stephen Colonna prays Cola di Rienzi to spare the life of an Orsini.'

'I understand thy taunt, old lord,' said Rienzi calmly, 'but I resent it not. You are foe to the Orsini, yet plead for him. It sounds generous; but hark you, you are more a friend to your order than a friend to your rival. You cannot bear that one great enough to have contended with you should perish like a thief. I give full praise to such noble forgiveness; but I am no noble, and I do not sympathise with it. One word more—if this were the sole act of fraud and violence that this bandit baron had committed, your prayers should plead for him; but is not his life notorious? Has he not been from boyhood the terror and disgrace of Rome? How many matrons violated, merchants pillaged, citizens stilettoed in daylight, rise in dark witness against the prisoner? And for such a man do I live to hear an aged prince and a Pope's vicar plead for mercy. Fie! fie! But I will be even with ye. The next *poor* man whom the law sentences to death, for your sake will I pardon.'

Raimond again drew aside the Tribune, while Colonna struggled to suppress his rage.

'My friend,' said the Bishop, 'the nobles will feel this as an insult to their whole order; the very pleading of Orsini's worst foe must convince thee of this. Martino's blood will seal their reconciliation with each other, and they will be as one man against thee.'

'Be it so; with Heaven and the people with me, I will dare, though a Roman, to be just. The bell ceases; you are already too late.'

So saying, Rienzi threw open the casement; and by the staircase of the Lion rose a gibbet from which swung with a creaking sound, arrayed in his patrician robes, the palpitating corpse of Martino di Porto.

'Behold!' said the Tribune sternly, 'thus die all robbers. For *traitors* the same law has the axe and the scaffold!'

Singular Conversion.—When Oliver Cromwell entered upon the command of the Parliament army against Charles I he ordered all his soldiers to carry a Bible in their pockets. Among the rest there was a wicked wild young fellow, who ran away from his apprenticeship in London for the sake of plunder and dissipation; but he was obliged of course to obey orders and carry a Bible. One evening after having been engaged in a skirmishing party, he pulled out his Bible just as he was going to bed, and observed a little hole in it. His curiosity led him to trace the depth of the hole, when he found the bullet had gone as far as the 11th chapter of Ecclesiastes, 9th verse, where he read as follows—

"Rejoice, O young man in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth; walk in the ways of thine heart and in the sight of thine eyes; but know thou that for all these things God will bring thee into judgment.'

From this singular coincidence the young man became thoughtful on his past wicked conduct, reformed, and lived many years in London after the civil wars were over.

Religion is so far from debarring men any innocent pleasure or comfort of human life, that it purifies the pleasures of it, and renders them more grateful and generous. And besides this, it brings mighty pleasures of its own, those of a glorious hope, a serene mind, a calm and undisturbed conscience, which do far out relish the most studied and artificial luxuries. *Sherlock*

A Legal Distinction.—Two prominent advocates in this eastern section, within fifty miles of Bangor, were once engaged in a case in Court on opposite sides. Their feelings were very much enlisted in their clients' favor. One of them in the course of his remarks made an assertion which very much excited the other, who thereupon sprang upon his feet and exclaimed, "Brother C. do you say that as a lawyer, or as a man? If you say it as a *lawyer*, it is very well; but if you say it as a *man*, YOU LIE?"

Bangor Courier.

When the late judge Howell of Rhode Island, was at the Bar, Mr. Burgess, to play a joke, wrote on the lining of his hat *vacuum caput* (empty head)—the hat circulated about, exciting a smile on every countenance except that of the owner—who deliberately took it up and repeated the words above, and well knowing the author of the mischief, addressed the Court as follows—May it please the Court, I ask your Honor's protection (holding up the hat) for,' said he, "I find that brother Burgess has written his name in my hat, and I have reason to fear that he intends to make off with it.'

Boston Galaxy.

A keen trick.—A sharper, a few days since, stept into a boot maker's shop in the Bowery, (says a New York paper,) and requested to try on a pair of boots. After a deal of trouble he succeeded in finding a pair which fitted. He then gave a smart stamp with his foot, upon which a man (an accomplice) rushed in and knocked him down. "Where is the villain?" said he as he arose; and instantly ran in pursuit of the fellow through the streets, and was soon beyond the vision of Crispin; who found himself minus a pair of boots.

Activity.—There is much advantage in activity—in doing most things quickly—particularly in these cold days. Dr. Arnott, in his Elements of Physics, says, that animal power is exhausted exactly in proportion to the time during which it is acting, as well as in proportion to the intensity of force exerted. There may, therefore, be often a great saving of animal power by doing work quickly, although with a little more exertion during the time. Suppose two men of equal weight to ascend the same stair—one of whom took only a minute to reach the top, and the other takes four minutes; it will cost the first little more than one fourth part of the fatigue which it costs the second, because the exhaustion is in proportion to the time during which the muscles are acting.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN

TO the heirs and legatees of JOHN DUKE, deceased, that the subscriber is now ready to settle with them, on demand, and will not hereafter consider himself as liable for interest.

MOSES GUESS, *Adm'r in right of his wife.*

March 15 10-p

NOTICE.

THE subscribers having been qualified at the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executors to the last will and testament of ROBERT TINNIN, deceased, hereby give notice to all persons indebted to said estate to make immediate payment; and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

DAVID TINNIN, } *Ex'rs.*
C. C. TINNIN. }

February 25. 07—

CO-PARTNER WANTED.

THE business of conducting this paper has become so burthensome, that I cannot do it justice and do myself justice in other respects. I wish therefore, to take a partner into the Editorial department of the Watchman. I should regard a high degree of qualification as indispensable: for whether the present Editor possesses that or not, I am able to show *incontestable proof* that the establishment is in a high degree profitable, and every way improving.

I would prefer a gentleman of the bar, who would be willing to form a co-partnership in the law practice also. Letters (post paid) will be promptly answered, detailing the affairs of the office, (more than ought to be done in an advertisement) and giving my views of all the advantages of the proposed arrangement: a personal conference, however, would be necessary before closing such a contract.

H. C. JONES.

Watchman Office, Salisbury, N. C. } 09—

NOTICE.

LETTERS of administration have been granted to me on the estate of POLLY JACKSON, at the February term of Orange County Court. Persons having claims are notified to present them.

E. F. STRUDWICK, *Adm'r.*

February 25 08—

STEAMBOAT FROM Petersburg to City Point.

THE public are respectfully informed that the New Steamboat EAGLE, Capt. Chase, has commenced running from this place to City Point, to meet the boats from and to Norfolk, and will leave in time to ensure a passage to or from that place. No fears need be apprehended by delay, as the boat draws but two feet water, which will ensure a run at all times of tide. Passage $1, for which apply on board, or to

P. RYAN, *Agent,*
At the Wharf.

February 23. 08—3w

PUBLIC SALE.

WILL be sold to the highest bidder, at the late dwelling of Temperance Primrose, deceased on Friday the 18th day of March next,

TWO LIKELY YOUNG NEGRO FELLOWS,

The Tract of Land wheron she lived,
Stock of Cattle and Hogs,
One Grey Mare,
The Crop of Corn and Fodder,
Household and Kitchen Furniture, and
Farming tools.

Nine months credit will be given, the purchaser giving bond and approved security.

HARRIS WILKERSON.

February 27. 08—p

JOB-PRINTING,

Executed at this Office with neatness, accuracy and despatch.

BLANKS for sale at this Office.

Town Property For Sale.

THE subscriber offers his lots in Hillsborough for sale. His situation is one of the most eligible in the place as a private residence. It contains six acres, has a spring on it, and a constant branch running through it; the House is a comfortable family residence, containing six rooms, with four fire places, with the usual Out Houses; a large Barn, with convenient and roomy Stables.

Also a Lot of near two acres on the opposite side of the street. This lot is well enclosed, has a framed House on it, 30 feet by 14, with a good brick chimney.

Also a Lot in the bend, containing 3½ acres, a house on it used as a Stable, with one large Stall and Feed Room.

This property will be sold on fair, nay low terms, as the subscriber intends removing West, either for cash or credit.

ALLEN J. DAVIE.

February 25. 08—

The Beautiful and Thorough-bred Horse

SNOWDEN,

WILL stand this season at my stable—terms made known in bills. He unites great beauty and strength, with the richest pedigree, in which is combined all the best blood both of modern and ancient times. A superior horse has at no time stood here.

A. J. DAVIE.

February 25. 08—

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN,

THAT at the last term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, administration upon the estate of THOMAS D. WATTS, deceased, was granted the subscriber; all those who are indebted to the estate are requested to make payment; and those who have claims against it to present them as the law directs, as the subscriber is desirous to close his administration as soon as the law will allow.

A. PARKS, *Adm'r.*

March 1. 09—

NOTICE.

THE subscriber having been qualified at the February term of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions for Orange county, as executor of the last will and testament of ALEXANDER ALLEN, deceased, hereby gives notice to all persons indebted to the estate to make immediate payment, and those having claims will present them properly authenticated within the time prescribed by law, or this notice will be plead in bar of their recovery.

JOHN SCOTT, *Ex'r.*

February 25. 07—

FOR SALE.

BECKWITH'S ANTI-DISPEPTIC PILLS. W. W. GRAY'S INVALUABLE OINTMENT and Dr. A. G. HULL'S IMPROVED Hinge and Pivot TRUSS.

ALLEN PARKS.

November 5. 84—

Carey's Library of Choice Literature.

WHEN this work was about commencing, the proprietors, in their original prospectus, stated, that their facilities were very great for conducting a publication of the kind. The selections already have given great satisfaction. "The Life of Sir James Mackintosh," "Kincaid's Rifle Brigade" and "Characteristics of Hindostan," are works that at the same time are interesting and instructive. Nothing bearing a different character shall ever find a place in the Library.

As a proof of our facilities, we have commenced in No. 14, the publication of a work of History and Fiction, by James—received by us ONE MONTH IN ADVANCE OF ANY OTHER PUBLISHER. This gentleman is the author of those deservedly popular works, "Darnley," "D'Lorme," "Richelieu," "Philip Augustus," "Henry Masterton," "John Marston Hall," "Mary of Burgundy," "The Gypsey," &c. The present work will sustain his high reputation. The scene is laid in France, during the reign of its gayest monarch, Henri Quatre, and is full of those beautiful descriptions and stirring incidents which characterizes his writings. It is entitled

ONE IN A THOUSAND,
OR
The Days of Henri Quatre.

This work will be completed in advance of the regular days of publication to gratify our numerous readers, with—what, when they commence, we are convinced they will anxiously look for—the Denouement.

Our extraordinary facilities will enable us to be always in advance with the works of this and many other celebrated authors.

The Library is published weekly, each number containing 20 imperial octavo pages, in a stitched cover. The Literary Chronicle which accompanies it contains 4 pages, and is bound up at the completion of each volume at the end of the work.

Five Dollars per annum, payable in advance.

Address CAREY & HART, or
LOUIS A. GODEY, Agent,
PHILADELPHIA.

January 14. 03—

Private Boarding School FOR YOUNG LADIES,

AT KELVIN, NEAR PITTSBOROUGH.

THIS Institution, long known as MRS. EDWARD JONES'S SCHOOL, will hereafter be conducted under the joint superintendence and instruction of MISS CHARLOTTE C. JONES, and the Subscriber. The next session will commence on the first Monday in February next, and continue until the middle of July, including a short vacation, when the second session of the year 1836, will commence, which will terminate on the 12th December. A competent Assistant will be employed, if necessary. It is in contemplation to enlarge the accommodations for the School, and before the beginning of the next session, it is expected that every schoolroom convenience for each Young Lady will have been provided.

As it is determined to preserve the private character of the School, the Pupils will board in the families of the Teachers; exceptions to this rule will only be made in the cases of those who reside in the immediate vicinity, or within a few hours' ride of the School, or under peculiar circumstances of relationship.

TERMS.—Board, (including every necessary,) Tuition, Stationary, and the use of School Books, $75 per session.

Music and Drawing will form separate charges.

W. H. HARDIN.

Near Pittsborough, Jan. 20. 04—4t

Bank Stock For Sale.

10 SHARES of the capital Stock of the Bank of Cape Fear, belonging to the estate of James Williamson, decd. will be sold before the Court House door in Hillsborough, on Thursday of the next May County Court.

JOHN M. DICK. } *Ex'rs.*
R. P. WILLIAMSON, }

March 4 09—

WATCHES, Jewellery, Silver Ware, &c.

HUNTINGTON & LYNCH

HAVE received an additional supply of goods in their line, which makes the assortment extensive; and they assure those who want watches that they can be suited, as they do not sell one without warranting it to be good. In addition to *WATCHES, JEWELLERY, &c.* they have

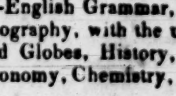
Britannia & Plated Ware,
A LARGE STOCK OF
Perfumery, Fancy Articles, &c.

☞ Watches repaired carefully, and warranted in every instance.

*** They would respectfully solicit those of their customers whose accounts are of six month's standing, to pay the same.

October 22. 99—

MARION



WILL stand the ensuing season at my farm in Northampton county. Particulars hereafter.

WM. MOODY.

January 27. 6—4w

Valuable Town Property FOR SALE.

THE commodious STORE HOUSE and tenement, now in the the occupancy of Messrs Latimer & Barker, belonging to the estate of the late David Kyle, deceased, is offered for sale on accommodating terms.

Apply to
WILL. A. GRAHAM.

October 29 99—

BOOK BINDING.

JOHN H. DE CARTERET, of RALEIGH, begs leave to announce to the citizens of Hillsborough and its vicinity, and the adjoining counties, that he carries on the above business in all its various branches. He will be in Hillsborough until the 29th inst. and any orders for BINDING or BLANK BOOKS will be thankfully received.

During his stay in this place he can be found either at the Superior Court Clerk's Office, or at Mr. Palmer's Hotel.

N. B. Old Books rebound, plain or ornamented.

JOHN H. DE CARTERET.

The subscribers have seen the work of Mr. De Carteret, Book Binder, and can say that he is an excellent workman, and can recommend him to the public for industry, &c.

J. TAYLOR,
JAMES WEBB.

February 18. 07—4w

Dr. Norwood has removed his shop to the house formerly occupied by Mr. William Huntington as a dwelling house, two doors west of Mr. Stephen Moore's Store, where he may be found when not professionally engaged.

January 6. 02—

Mount Pleasant Academy.

THIS institution, situated twelve miles north of Hillsborough, will be opened for the reception of students on the 15th of January, 1838. This situation has been selected by the subscriber chiefly on account of the many advantages it possesses, in healthiness, and the correct morals of the surrounding country. Neither pains nor expense will be spared to render the academical course full and complete. Amongst other things, will be taught the following branches particularly:

1st Class—English Grammar, Penmanship, Geography, with the use of the Maps and Globes, History, Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Rhetoric, &c.

2nd Class—Latin, Greek and French Languages.

The prices of tuition will be five dollars per session for the first class, and ten dollars per session for the second class. A session will consist of five months. At the expiration of the first session there will be a public examination and a vacation of two weeks. The subscriber will render every possible attention to the morals and habits of the students placed under his care.

Board can be had convenient to the academy at five dollars per month, and in good families. The subscriber is prepared to accommodate twelve or fifteen students with board at five dollars per month.

DANIEL W. KERR.

N. B. Students prepared in the above Academy for any of our Universities.

Orange county, N. C. Nov. 26. 97—

HILLSBOROUGH, N. C.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

BY DENNIS HEARTT,

AT THREE DOLLARS A YEAR, OR TWO DOLLARS FIFTY CENTS IF PAID IN ADVANCE.

Those who do not give notice of their wish to have their paper discontinued at the expiration of the year, will be presumed as desiring its continuance until countermanded.—And no paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the option of the publisher.

Persons procuring six subscribers, shall receive the seventh gratis.

Advertisements not exceeding sixteen lines will be inserted three times for one dollar, and twenty-five cents for each continuance.

Subscriptions received by the printer, and most of the post-masters in the state.

All letters upon business relative to the paper must be post paid.